

June 1, 1998

Office of General Counsel Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463

RE: Complaint

Dear Mr. Noble:

This is a complaint pursuant to 11 C.F.R. Sect. 111.4 et seq. Enclosed, please find a copy of an article from *The Wall Street Journal* of May 28, 1998. The relevant sections are noted by marginal annotation.

The complaint is against individuals C. Boyden Gray, Jeanne Fletcher, and Sen. Trent Lott; and the multicandidate committee, New Republican Majority Fund.

The violations alleged, and probable violators of each, are:

- 11 C.F.R. Sect. 110.4(b) (Contribution in the name of another): Gray, Fletcher
- 11 C.F.R. Sect. 110.5(b) (Annual limitation of contribution by individual): Gray
- 11 C.F.R. Sect. 110.1(d) (Excessive contributions by individual): Gray, New Republican Majority Fund, Sen. Lott

Further, in the case of Gray, at least, the violations appear to be knowing and willful, if the statements attributed to both him and Fletcher by the *Journal* are even approximately correct. As former White House Counsel, as well as his many other political assignments, Mr. Gray cannot credibly claim innocence of black-letter election law. Given this striking circumstance, it would behoove the Commission to make this one of its higher-priority cases, in its allocation of investigative resources.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Richard E. Welsh

Rocal E. Wolk

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THURSDAY, MAY 28,, 1998

The Money Trail Donating to Politicos? Who Are Those People Secrets of a GOP PAC

Hedge Funds Give, and Get; Shipbuilder Bids for Aid Tennis ProStays in Touch

A Word in Trent Lott's Ear

Staff Reporters of The WALL STREET JOURNAL WASHINGTON - In the summer of 1996, hedge-fund managers placed a big bet on the Republican Party. By GREC HITT and PHIL KUNTZ

Two weeks later, Stan Druckenmiller of Soros Fund Management LLC upped the ante, giving \$250,000 to the party. That Julian Robertson gave \$100,000 to the GOP fund celebrities lowed by law, from a Who's Who of hedge same day, an obscure political action coment Lott began recording a harvest of 5,000 contributions, the maximum alittee headed by Senate Majority Leader In mid-June, Tiger Management LLC's



Ranieri, say they can't recall why they gave. Others, like Mr. Sandler, don't remmer giving at all. "If iddit," he says, "It was because somebody else asked me." participate." Mr. Rossi says it may sound "stupid or don't have a right to complain if you don't corny," but "I fundamentally believe you Why the largess? Some, such as Mr.

inanciers of various stripes. --

Senate's end-of-the-session crush to take up the National Securities Markets Inprovement Act. Among other things, the bill lifted hedge funds' limit of 99 U.S. wider net for capital. investors, allowing money managers of work. That fall, Sen. Lott found time in the these private investment funds to cast a But perhaps there was another force at

says the same about Mr. Druckenmiller's contribution: "We took no interest in the gave another \$100,000 to the RNC. A legislation whatsoever. do with the legislation. A Soros spokesman spokesman says his giving had nothing to After the bill passed, Mr. Robertson

Campaign Reform

INTERNET ADDRESS: http://wsj.com

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tem than significantly limit donations. As Sen. Lott put it last year, writing big checks to politicians you like is "the gress have made it clear they would rather retain the current incumbent friendly sys-McCain of Arizons. Key-members of Confor proposed reforms, deep-sixing a bill will enact anything. In the Senate, Sen.
Lott himself has been a leading palibearer once again, there is little chance Congress the creaky campaign-finance system. And tives is considering proposals to overhau ashioned by a GOP colleague, Sen. John Once again, the House of Representa

a fixture of American politics. American way." So donors with deep pockets will remain

ery? Are they victims, pawns of money, hungry pols too powerful to refuse? Or are they simply patriots seeking nothing more candidates in whom they believe? they the predators of the political system, buying influence through legalized bribship, parochialism or something else? Are What motivates them-ideology, partisan-The List than a stake in the system, supporting But who are they? Why do they give?

lican Majority Fund in any of the three years after the GOP took control of Congress in 1995. Sen. Lott is a natural draw for big contributors. His fund, which supports other candidates and helps fibegan his leadership ascent as majority cal activities, reflects that: Dormant for years, it has raised \$5.4 million since nance the Mississippi Republican's politibeing reactivated in 1995, when Sen. Lott \$5,000 maximum to Sen. Lott's New Repub donors: everyone who contributed the took a close look at a defined sample of hig To find out, The Wall Street Journal

with all of these donors and identify their business interests, political leanings and anything else that might have motivated them to give. Some couldn't be reached. Sen. Lott declined to discuss contributions questions to his PAC and didn't respond to written in 1995, 1996 and/or 1997, for a total of 8850,000. The Journal tried to get in touch the \$5,000 maximum to the senator's PAC A total of 144 individuals contributed

Almost all of those reached say they were moved to give primarily by dinship with Sen. Lott's conservative ideology or by a long-standing friendship. For many, that appears to be the case. But the pending before the government. "I gave because I have an interest in how he votes stakes in specific programs and policies five donors to the Lott PAC had identifiable Journal's analysis shows that four out of Please Turn to Page Alt, Column .

A Look at Contributors Following the Money: l'o a Trent Lott Pr

ex as having been rebuilt from wrecks. His PAC extred \$5,000 from Sherry Sharp, the wife of Circ-City Stores Inc. Chairman Richard Sharp, The hamond, Va., company's used-car subsidiary, ed as too lax by consumer groups and the Naorable to their business interests, the Journal aprils found. Hall of those donors' interests got unifon from Sen. Lott himself. For example, the cide with Long Island, N. Y.; It's self-interest; More crain six dozen of the donors stood to bene-from specific legislation or other official actions he Senate after having cleared the House. The al Association of Attorneys General, is pending Max, and the heavily Republican auto-dealering uniform standards on states for labeling ator is the chief sponsor of an obscure bill imlobby favor the bill. The measure, which is op-Continued From First Page Continued From First Pupel issues, says John Raggio

ertheless an eclectic bunch sen. Lott's top donors, nearly all well-to-do, are rps decline to comment.

er financiers account for more le hedge-fund managers and ranging from peanuts to Playincludes lobbyists for intera third of them, the group

ey, they return your calls

To is also actress Maria ne York diamond dealer (Schardt and Texas chicken mate Lonnie "Bo" Pilgrim.

e amounts of money to a politierned . . . If you give them is all-American as far as I'm once opined that "gryng

> Raton, Fla., who is pushing Con-gress to overhaul the Nasday Stock. Market, FReldtive to some of the nuts I find In the Republican Party "Mr. Berman says "Lott manager Meyer Berman in Boca, loyal Democrats, such as money-F. There are also some otherwise.

strikes me as a relatively reasonable person.

Some of the donors are so wealthy they barely remember giving \$5,000, which represents six weeks gross pay for the average American family Thilly Merrill, publisher of the Wasthingtonian magazine, became angry when told that campaign records had him giving when told the campaign records had him giving when told the campaign records had him giving when told the campaign records had him giving when the campaign records had him giving the cam \$5,000: "I have never contributed to any PAC in my life! I don't believe I ever contributed to Treni Lott!" Later, he allowed that it is possible he did

"creates cynicism, skepticism, all of the above. I'm part of it, absolutely." Steel Co. in Philadelphia. "We have become a gov Others regret being part of what they consider a tainted political system. "It's gotten out of hand," give, but forgot. ernment of special interest groups." The system says Ronald Sandmeyer, chairman of Sandmeyer

sorts of campaign-finance troubles that plagued Democrats in 1996, when individuals of questionable donors have or had legal entanglements. Clinton's re-election effort. A handful of Lott-PAC background contributed to the party to aid President The Lott PAC wasn't immune to some of the same

guilty in a New York court to grand larceny in con has pleaded not guilty. Andrew Bressman pleaded dictment in Boston in a public-corruption probe; he Lobbytst Vernon Clark is under federal fraud in

among top donors to the Lott PAC:

A few businesses are especially well represented

ployer. nally, contributor Alfred S. Palagonia and his em says her husband was behind her contribution. nection with tailed brokerage firm A.R. Baron & Co Contributor Hedi Lieberman is the wife of Vicyear to settle improper-trading charges brought by months in prison for securities fraud; an associate tor Teicher of Westport, Conn., who served 10 D.H. Blair & Co., paid a \$25,000 fine last

Fletcher and Mr. Gray both say the money actually came from him. They call it an innocent mistake. in March 1997. She works for C. Boyden Gray, who was counsel to President Bush. When asked, Ms. secretary, Jeanne Fletcher, as contributing \$5,000 Federal Election Commission records also list one While most of Mr. Lott's big donors are wealthy

Campaign law requires the actual source of the money to be disclosed in FEC reports. The provision helps enforce a \$25,000 cap on individuals total annual giving to federal campinging. A closel look at FEC records shows that Mrightly appears to play the exceeded that 200 and the giving basis four pears. Nearly \$17,000 in combinitions were aithly used to Ms. Fretchet, but she and Mr. Gray say the money was really his counting his Pietcher dometions. Mr. Gray give more than \$50,000 for 1997 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1995 and \$1,000 for 1997 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1995 and \$1,000 for 1997 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1995 and \$1,000 for 1997 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1995 and \$1,000 for 1996 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1995 and \$1,000 for 1996 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1995 and \$31,000 for 1996 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1995 and \$31,000 for 1996 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1996 campaigns, \$25,000 for 1996 campaigns, about, \$25,000 for 1996 campaigns, \$25,00

Fletcher donations to Mr. Gray excess donations and to attribute all remaining Now Mr. Gray's office is asking campaigns to refund and the FEC to correct mistakes in the reports for They say they previously asked various campaigns Fletcher say that may explain the incorrect reports. The Wall Street Journal that they weren't successful. 1994 donations but learned through inquiries from

Tiger Management, Mr. Robertson's hedge-fund company. Tiger hired Mr. Gray to lobby for the new "There are times I frankly say, "Thank God there are limits," Mr. Gray says.
Mr. Gray is now a lobbytst, Among his clients:

The National Association of Securities Dealers

investor rules passed in 1996.

Me have become

special interest groups," says a businessman cism, skepticism, "creates cynia government of absolutely." all of the above who contributes I'm part of it, ine system

quite motivated to be litigation reform. Kvamme, a technology nund-raiser

"We're interested in passing some legislation," Mr. Kvamme explains. "I felt he was on the righ Sen. Lott, at the suggestion of Michael BU wave length." lobbyist who used to be Sen. Lott's chief counsel recalls Mr. Kvamme. Soon after, he sent

Silicon Valley. Many executives there want protect agencies to crack. rity technology that is difficult for law-enforcemen mit them to export cutting-edge information-secu gress to change "encryption" rules that don't per tion from shareholder suits, and some want Con Two issues have helped Sen. Lott's standing in

Technology and telecom executives accounted for \$75,000 in \$5,000 gifts to Sen. Lott's PAC from 1995 through 1997. In 1995, Sen. Lott helped rally the Senate to over

porting an industry effort to close that loophole. He by turning to state courts, and now Sen. Lott is sup suits. Plaintiffs' lawyers, however, found a loophole winning tech firms some protection against federa ride a Clinton veto of the securities-lingation also is trying to broker an en-5

complete supplies the position of the complete supplies the comple James Barksdale, who has known Mr. Lott since their future wives were sorority ters at Ole Miss: Sis

igation reform and the en-cryption issue. "I thought he went over very well," says former Hewlett-Packard Co. a fund-raiser for the PAC in Palo Alto, Calif. Mr. Lott told - James and Sally Barksdale gave the PAC \$5,000 each, and Chairman John Young, who attendees of his interest in lit

the industry. Mr. Kvamme was impressed with Sen. Lott last gave \$5,000. summer while lobbying him on ture-capitalist who lobbies for Also helping coordinate the draiser was Floyd

shepherded an amendment giving LDDS World-Com, a long-distance service based in Jackson, telecommunications bill two years ago. tionship with John Kluge, the billionaire communi-cations investor. During consideration of a Kluge was then LDDS WorldCom's chairman. Miss., a competitive edge over major carriers. Mr A similar patiern appears in Sen. Lott's rela

Va., in a helicopter made available by Mr. Kluge's Metromedia Co. for another fund-raiser, at Mr. In the spring of 1996, shortly after the bill passed, Mr. Kluge tent his New York apartment to Sen. Lot's PAC for a mixer that raised tens of thouclub And last fall. Sen. Lott flew to Charlottesville. sands of dollars from Kluge associates, including Kluge's 8,000-acre estate. Following FEC rules, the PAC paid Metromedia \$2,117 for the ride.
Meanwhile, Mr. Kluge is branching out. Metro-\$20,000 from new members of Sen. Lott's \$5,000

media recently took control of a small New Jersey power marketer. Expansion plans are in the works to capitalize on an effort Mr. Lott supports to loosen

ty regulation.

spokes woman for Mr. Kluge says he doesn't be 'out of a lense of crossing palms to get a farmable work. He spointhouse to a list opoliticans is bing as your arm. He truly believes it's part of the process.

Shipping

industries. In some cases, the money has bought contributors access to the Senate majority leader. ing, Sen. Lott receives significant support from those A longtime supporter of shipping and shipbuild-

tend a discussion with Sen. Lott Inc., paid \$5,000 last year to atland-based American Automar Shipping executive William Charrier, of Mary

about maritime issues. About 25 around the table and listened to what we had to say," Mr. Charrier says, recalling the meeting. "Sen. Lott sat there and went shipping types sat around an ob-"What attracted me about it long table nibbling finger-food. was that it was billed to be a

rong Island, also attended. He says he had been told by someir. Raggio, of Sealift Inc. on

one-he doesn't recall whomthat "if you contribute to this, you'll get invited to

those discussions in direct return for campaign contributions creates the appearance that contributors receive special access to members and thereby exercussions. "Offering campaign contributors access to bers from charging people to participate in policy disthis get together. The Senate Ethics Committee discourages mem-

> cise undue influence," the panel said in 1987. Some of Mr. Lott's top donors got more than just

behemoth featuring three hotels, a town of shop-behemoth featuring three hotels, a town of shop-blued streets and a 2,000-seat movie theater. The stumbling block has been the federal Maritime Ad-ministration, which has doubts about the project's York-based company has pushed a proposal to build the world's largest cruise ship, a 6,200-passenger loan guarantee. feasibility and is refusing to approve a \$1 billion Consider World City Corp. Since 1990, the New

The company and its main proponents used to be

The company and its ineal proposition occasional fairly modest donors: giving no more than occasional sologists. Then in early 1996, the Maritime Administration for traition formally rejected World City's application for the loan guarantee. A lobbying frenzy ensued.

In the loan guarantee. A lobbying frenzy ensued.

In the next two years, World City and its supporters gave nearly 223,000 to Candidates and comporters gave nearly 223,000 to Candidates and composition better gave substitution to incomposition to incomposition to incomposition to incomposition to incomposition to incomposition continued in projects.

In the same from its continued in the incomposition continued city says all campaign donae substitutions came from U.S. funds and thus substitutions contributions.

City says all campaign donae substitutions came from U.S. funds and thus didn't violate laws against 10 the fleared, Says of the say against 10 the fleared, Says of the same form U.S. funds and thus didn't violate laws against 10 the fleared, Says of the same form U.S. funds and thus didn't violate laws against 10 the fleared, Says of the same form U.S. funds and the same fleared in the sam

PAC and campaign, sen. Lott Netscape's James received more money used to world City than did my other Barksdale.

In the spring of 1996, World

City persuaded several Mississippi shipbuilding-reCity persuaded several Mississippi shipbuilding-related companies to lobby the senator to support the
project. On April 25, 1996, Sen. Lott met with World
City officials. Two weeks later, two proponents of
the project sent his PAC 55,000 each timing may be noteworthy.

senator to attend a meeting it had set up with Fed-erico Pena, then the secretary of transportation, to "muster some significant political support at that meeting," as a Mississippi company put it in a letter letter about the project. "It is a significant opportu-nity for America to show its leadership as both a shipbuilding and a tourism nation," he wrote. to Sen. Lott. On July 8, 1996, a Lott side attended a meeting between Mr. Pena and World City officials: the next day, the senator wrote Mr. Pena a glowing The following month, World City tried to get the

> cure financing. On Aug. 1. World City supporters sent his PAC another \$10,000. A further eight months. \$14,000 came over the next port a measure the company wanted to help it se-Later that month, Sen. Lott was lobbled to sup

is create a climate in Congress where people are aware of the project." But the money was "not central" to the lobbying ef-Rogers says of the donations.
Obviously, what we want to do World City "Increasingly, we saw it as a y of life in Washington." O E Executive

fort. Mr. Rogers adds. "We are not out there saying, 'See this check?' You write this letter. You get this sheek."

The coincidence of the timing between donations and official action, 'howers', some times, nakes, it looking way.

That's, why the Senate Schloss

Committee any is deciral interval of time should be allowed to lapse so that neither party will feel that there is a close connection between the two acts." member of the panel at the time. the committee told senators in 1991. Sen, Lott was a

Lobbyists

In all nearly 20 lobbytsts and consultants made \$5,000 contributions to Sen. Lott's PAC. Many have close ties to him.

James H. Johnson, for example, has known Sen.
Lott since their days together at the University of
Mississippi. He later worked as an aide to the senator, then became the Loft PAC's chief fund-raiser.
Today Mr. Johnson is part of a circle of Mississippimajority leader's ear. After leaving the PAC, Mr. Johnson formed his own lobbying business and became "of counsel" to the lobbying firm founded by one of Mr. Lott's Mississippi associates, Haley Barans and former Loft aides making their way in Washington as lobbyists known to have the Senate bour, the former GOP chairman.

After Sen. Lott became majority leader in 1996, his jobbyist friends exulted. "The environment for developing new business is the best that it's ever been, said Lanny Griffith, another Mississipian in Mr. Barbour's lobbying firm. Mr. Boland, who is in the lobby Madigan, told a reporter at the time, "Life has always ing business with another Lott friend named Peter

Griffith & Rogers and Boland & Madigan-have contributed to Sen. Lott's PAC and encouraged cliente to do so Simultaneously, they lobby him and been good, but it got a lot better recently."

All the name partners of their firms—Barbour

function as his kitchen cabinet, dispensing political

retain control of Congress, and this favors his clients. "It's a hell of a lot easier going into the meeting," he says, "when you've got a chairman Barbour, explaining that the money helps the GOP that agrees with you. "I encourage them all" to contribute, says Mr

who wrote a check after hearing a Lott talk about cutting inheritance taxes. "I figured, what the heck-let's support him and see if he can deliver, Mr. Barnieh says. The donor was disappointed: "I Mr. harrieh says. The donor was disappointed: "I Lott's biggest fund-raisers. He was behind a \$5,000 donation from California investor Sam Bamieh. estate taxes were merely cut, not eliminated. don't think he went far enough," he says, because Barbour partner Edward Rogers is one of Mr Many of their clients haven't fared too badly on

Capitol Hill.

Mr. Johnson has represented D.H. Blair Investment Banking of New York, whose chairman, J. Morton Darks, (contributed) 20 Mr. 1907. And 1908. Last: year, Mr. 1908. Last: year, Mr. 1908. Last: year, Mr. 1908. Last: year, Mr. 1908. Which sought by Mr. 1908. which ment, and Mr. Devis didn't passed with the ssupport Sen. Lott, and others. a Johnson declined Lott and others a Mr

Integrated Health Systems inc. in Owings Mills.
Md. The nursing home company also retained an other lobbying firm. U.S. Strategies Corp. of Alexandria, Va., whose lobbyists gave \$15,000 to Alexandria, Va., whose lobbying on changes in Sen. Lott's PAC. HS was lobbying on changes in Medicare's payment system. After some changes were contained in last year's budget by the early benefits under the new system. return phone calls the return phone calls the return phone calls the return phone is the property of the return the some Lott-PAC donors last year was the Medicare payment system. Shortly after Mr. Barbour left his GOP post and rejoined. This lobbying firm last year, the Lott PAC got \$5,000 from a new Barbour got \$5,000 from a new Bar client: Robert Elkins, CEO 2

erator of nursing homes and long-term hospitals He contributed \$5,000 at the urging his lobbyist, Mr Lunsford, CEO of Vencor Inc., a Louisville, Ky., Madigan, but congressional aides who worked the bill say Vencor didn't fare very well. I ansford didn't return a call seeking comment) بريا nefits under the new system.
Also interested in the Medicare bill was Bruce
Also interested in the Medicare bill was Bruce

Metromedia Washington's top health-care lobbyist, Debo-rah Steelman, also gave \$5,000 to the Lott PAC. A. lew month's later, Sen. Lott commission studying how to appointed the lobbyist to a Medicare.

President John cians as long as Kluge "contributes your arm. He truly to a list of politibelieves it's part o

ported by Sea. Lott, whose Price of the proposal, was supported by Sea. Lott, whose Price of the would have saved cigarette win approval of a provision that GOP. Last summer, he helped later repealed amid controlars under the proposed tobacco makers itens of billions of dolliability settlement. Although

Bill Bissett, into a small dinner with Mr. Lott at the City City Ciub in Washington. "We thought it would be a chance to get the issue in front of Sen. Lott," Mr. Bissett says. "We wanted to see it passed." Lott aide to lobby for opening National Park Service contracts to competitive bidding. The aide, John Scruggs, encouraged Mr. Jacobs to give \$5,000 to the senator's PAC. money buys will prompt action. Jeremy Jacobs, the CEO of a Buffalo, N.Y., food-concessions concern called Delaware North Cos., hired another former The gift got Delaware North's in-house lobbyist,

A Few Old Friends

maximum \$5,000 to Sen. Lott's PAC after meeting nected political operatives, she twice donated the hour tennis coach to some of Washington's best-conthey want legislative action. Kathleen Kemper just likes to be part of the Washington scene. A \$75-an-Not all of Mr. Lott's contributors give because

connection between the two Steelman says there was no

Mr. Barbour also represents

source of contributions for the the tobacco industry; a major

the wife of its chief fund-raiser at a political event. It's all "networking." Ms. Kemper says; "I have no intrinsic interest in politics." But she devours newspapers "so I have things to talk about with my She also raises money herself to sponsor litical figures. breakfasts featuring talks with po-

something back to the system, says Ms. Kemper, who says she is good to me. I have a very good ten-his business. So I'm happy to give not strictly, Republican and do nates to both parties 1 supportant people I like who are my frients. 1 A handhil of big Lott donors are longtime friends. Among them is Roy Newman, a Gullport, Miss. "Washington has been very

"I probably need to make another one," he says.
"You ought to encourage good men. It's your duty to tuagenarian Mr. Newman has known the senator Lott's PAC in 1995 and sent another \$5,000 in 1996 for three decades and says he is proud his friend hasn't forgotten his Mississippi roots. Mr. Newman made a \$5,000 donation to Sen ator in his office, just above a photo of Parada photo of Ronald Reagan. The sep-

BOP took control of Congress in January 1995. The based on the confidence of the based on the confidence on the confidence of the confiden acords, supplemented by et, the New Republican ble amount (\$5,000) to donated the maximum allowdisjority Fund, in one or more on's pointeal action commit senate Majority Leader Trent the following individuals ederal Election Commission: the three years after the

dealer in mahogany and oak lum-

Pamieh, Sam, San Mateo, Calff., Investor: E. Barbour, Haley R., Yazoo City, Miss., Loobyst/Barbour, Berman, Meyer A., Great
Nebs, N.Y., Money Manager
Bible, Sara C., Greenwich,
Oonn, Wile of Philip Morris
Cos. CEO Geoffrey Bible
Boland, Michael J. P., Galit., Wile of James Barksdale Barrack, Thomas J. Jr., Los Angeles, Calif., Colony Capital Communications Corp. CEO Sally Barksdale, Palo Alto. James Barksdale, Mountain Washington, D.C., Lobbyist/Boland & Corp. executive Bartz, Carol, Atherlon, Calif. la., Businessman Jills, Mich. unodesk Inc. CEO odsole, Palmer, Mobile. General Motors

iry good tennis business. So I'm happy to ashington has been very good to me. I have

lmething back to the system," says

ople like who are my friends."

intributes to both parties. "I support the

ithleen Kemper, a tennis coach who

A14 THE WALL STR \$5,000 Club **Trent Lott's** Continental Airlines
Bressman, Andrew, Cliffside
Park, N.J., A.R. Baron & Co. S.C., Sonoco Products Co. Browning, Peter C., Hartsville

Worth, Texas, Investor/Texas Pacific Group, which controls maderman, David, Fon

Ende, Will, Austin, Texas

Texas Manufactured

Burt, Richard R., Bethesda, Md., Investor, former ambassador to Germany

Charrier, J. William, Cassidy, Thomas J., Norfolk, Mass., Harvard Institute for... Carrolf, Philip, Houston, Texas, Shell Oil Co. CEO

Potomac, Md., American
Automac Inc.
Automater. Constance Cos
Apos Sally Wife of Sally
Chambers, Tohn Los Atos Cos
Chambers, Tohn Los Atos Cos Collazo, Frank J., Huntsville, Ala., Collazo Enterprises Inc. Md. Wife of Vemon A. Clark
Clark, Vernon A., Potomac,
Md., Vern Clark & Associates Clark, A. J., Bethesda, Md. Childs, John W., Boston, Ty Clark, Elaine J., Potomac, Ala., Wife of Frank J. Collazo Clark Construction Group Inc. Colfazo, Carmen, Huntsyille,

Cook, Scott D. Woodside, ... Calif., Intuit Inc. chairman

ş» l

Dishongh, Gill III. Columbus, Miss., Valley Construction Co. Dishongh, Gill Jr., Columbus, Miss., Valley Construction Co. Dome, Renee, N. Bay Village. Boshay, Glenn R., Rancho York, Investor/Greenway Duberstein, Gary K., New Investor/Palantir Capital Inc Santa Fe, Calif. Fla., American Medical Plans Inc Columbus, Miss., Valley Dishongh, Emmett G., Davis, J. Morton, Lawrence N.Y., D.H. Blair Investment Construction Bankıng chairman

Elkins, Robert N., Owings Mills, Md., Integrated Health Services Inc CEO Eisenberger, Jeffrey M., Brooklyn, N.Y., investment Analyst, Formerly with Housing Assn.

arfer ASSOC.

Fletcher, Jeanne D.,
Washington, D.C., Lobbyist C.
Boyden Gray's secretary at
Wilmer, Cutler & Pickening:

Gray says the money was Fox, Richard J., Narberth,

French, Verrick 0., Chevy Chase, Md., Lobbyist

rrenar a co.
Friedman, Emanuel,
Washington, D.C.,
Washington, D.C.,
Investor/Friedman Billings Gardens, N.Y., A. Tryon indens, N.Y., Retired riedman, Mayer, New York, lursing Home

Gallagher, Charles E., New York, Retired; husband of Stephanie Gallager Gallagher, Stephanie,

Garcia, Edward S., Virginia Beach, Va., García, Carmen F., Virginia Beach, Va., Son Developer/ESG Enterprises of Edward S. Garcia New York, World City Corp. executive

Madigan Inc.

Sandler, Harvey, Boca Raton, Fla., Investor/Sandler Associates Associates
Sandmeyer, Ronald P.,
Philadelphia, Pa., Sandmeyer
Steel Co. chairman
Schmidt, Jack, Flushing, N.Y. Diamond wholesaler Seggerman, Harry G. A., Seggeman, narry G. A.,
Fairheld, Conn., International
Investment Advisors president
Shapiro, Philip J., Brookville,
N.Y., Liberty Maritime
Corp CEO Sharp, Sherry, Richmond, Va. Wife of Circuit City Stores Inc. CEO Richard Sharp Shick, Helen E. S., Naples. Fia. Naples Community
Hospital, board member
Smalley, M. Deldre, Orlando,
Fia. Housewife Smalley, Richard H., Orlando, Fla., Bee Jay Sales of Florida of Fiorida
Smick, David M.,
Washington, D.C., Financial
and political consultant
Smith, Theodore, Laguna
Beach, Calit., Filenet Corp. CEO Steelman, Deborah, Mclean, Va., Lobbyist Steinhardt, Michael H., New York, Investor Subbinick, Stuart, New York, Metromedia Co. executive

Thiry, Kent J., San Maleo. Calif., Vivra Specially Partners CEO

V Van Andel, Belly, Grand Rapids, Mich., Wife of Jay Van Andel Van Andel, Jay, Grand Rapids, Mich., Amway Corp. senior chairman Vaughan, Joe F. Jr., Katy. Texas, Ocean Shipholdings Inc. GEO

W Wardle, Peter, San Francisco. Calit., Investor/Newtek Wilkins, Howard Jr., Wichita, Kan , Investor

1 Young, John, Portola, Calif. Hewlett-Packard Co . former CEO

Nash, Jack, New York, investor/Odyssey Pariners Helss, Devorah, Brooklyn, NY , Investor Newkirk, Wayne, Walkertown NC . S & N Communications president Newman, Roy, Gullport, Miss Newman Lumber Co. Noble, George L., Lexington, Mass . Investor/Telon. Partners .

Oberndorf, William, Mill Valley, Calit , Investor/SPO Partners & Co.

Palagonia, Alired S., Quogus, N.Y., Broker/D.H. Blair & Co.; Palmer, John N., Jackson, Palmer, John N., Jackson, Miss., Med Corp. CEO Pearte, Charlotte, Bay Springs, Miss., Wife of John Pearce Pearce, John, Bay Springs, Miss., Colonial Chapel, Funeral Homes Miss., Colonial Chapel, Funeral Homes
Funeral Homes
Pingrim, Lonnie A., Pittsburg
Texas, Pilgrim's Pride
Corp. CEO
Pitts, William R. Jr.,
Artington, Va., Lobbyist'
ABC Inc. 4
Pottruck, David S., San
Francisco, Charles Schwab
Co. president

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